1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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582 602 835 Why marriage is prohibited with HuBrSo and WiSiDa was explained by ≠Toma. Marriages with HuBr or WiSi are highly preferred marriages. This makes ≠Toma 'feel like' his WiSiHu, he said, even though he is not married to her, and, as a result, his WiSiDa seems to him like his own daughter.

FIG. 3. *Affines*

[601]

Marriage forbidden	*Male*	*Female*	*Joking*
Parents of ego's spouse	*≠tum*	*/utzu*	no
Spouses of FaBr, FaSi, MoBr, MoSi	*tzu*	*/ǂa*	
SiHuFa w.s., BrWiMo m.s.	*tzu*	*/ǂa*	
(Ego's generation terminologically)			
Parents of SoWi, DaHu	*/umba*	*/undai*	yes
Spouses of So and Da	*≠tum*	*/utzu*	no
HuBrSo, WiSiDa	*tzu*	*/ǂa*	

[587] Marriage with a BrWiMo or SiHuFa seems improper to the /Kung because a man's marriage with his BrWi is highly preferred, as is a woman's with a SiHu (should the death of the spouse or divorce make their marriage possible), and the parents of these affines therefore seem 'like' parents of the spouse.

In the sibling category among affines ego is prohibited from marrying only WiBrWi or HuSiHu. The reason for this prohibition appears to lie in the consistency of the joking pattern, about which three more points must be made. First, throughout

FIG. 4. *Marriage forbidden with WiBrWi, HuSiHu*

Male ego		*Female ego*	
	Joking		*Joking*
Br and BrWi	yes	Br and BrWi	no
Si and SiHu	no	Si and SiHu	yes
WiSi and WiSiHu	yes	HuBr and HuBrWi	yes
WiBr and WiBrWi	no	HuSi and HuSiHu	no

the whole system (except among remote name relatives), ego maintains the same joking status with *both* members of a married couple, for example, with FaBr and FaBrWi, WiSi and WiSiHu, &c. Secondly, in the differentiation of sex between siblings among ego's affines with respect to the joking relationship, the point of reference is the spouse. Ego has the joking relationship with his own spouse and with the sibling of his spouse who is the same sex as his spouse. He avoids joking with his spouse's sibling whose sex is opposite to his spouse. Thirdly, among affines in the sibling category the extended incest taboo and the avoidances coincide. Sex permitting, if ego may joke he may marry, and if he avoids joking he is prohibited from marrying. As we list ego's siblings and affines in Fig. 4 we see that WiBrWi and HuSiHu are the only ones whose sex is opposite to ego's, making marriage possible, but with whom ego is constrained from joking because he does not joke with his WiBr or HuSi, according the same joking status to both members of a married couple.

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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602 three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tũn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182 183 touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 582 sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 593 tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 602 gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587 approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768 expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583 This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619 marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units [584] have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595 which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554 or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556 but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422] his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go, whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children.

Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood.

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her HuBr to hunt for her if she needs his support.

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any.

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages.

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (*‖num*) the death away from the widow.' *‖Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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587 589 [783] was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 768 [611] [604] The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arranging marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[584] [597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

586 Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality, by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is */kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce. [422]

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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tion is not necessary. 'A wife can get tired of loving her husband', we were told, 586
'and just tell him to go away.'

We learned about seven divorces only in our sample. The middle-aged Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom, /Gunda, had left her first husband to marry her lover. Another middle-aged woman left her husband because he was on the point of marrying a second wife. Jealousy between the two young wives at Gam, lamented in song by the young husband, had been the cause of the third. The whims of young girls caused others. A girl named /Ungka, married to a considerably older man, hated him though he was good to her and gave her oil and ornaments for her hair. She cut off her hair and threw it, ornaments and all, into the fire. She thrust her head into the ashes and made herself filthy. In another instance, the girl took offence the first night of her marriage and left her young husband next day, to his painful chagrin. The lenient and patient parents of these girls arranged other marriages. Di/ai, the mother of the bride /Nai, and now the wife of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, was divorced from two former husbands in her youth. And /U, her sister, while still very young had been persuaded by ≠Toma to leave her tall young husband from Gam and to marry him. [587]

Our data on frequency of divorce are too scant to be significant. We have merely the impression that there seems to be some tendency for couples to separate while they are young and in whatever adolescent turbulence the /Kung experience, but that, on the other hand, there is considerable stability in marriage once a compatible mate is found. At least, no divorces occurred between 1952 and 1959 in eight of the bands of our sample. We lack data on the others.

Young children of divorced parents remain with the mother. As they grow to adolescence the girls usually stay with their mothers, the boys may go to their fathers or stay with their mothers or spend some time with each.

Although the /Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it. Divorce is untoward, disruptive; it can cause trouble. Anything other than peace and harmony in human relations makes the /Kung uneasy. [181]

Extra-marital sexual relations

Murdock points out that 'Our own culture includes a blanket taboo against fornication, an over-all prohibition of all sexual intercourse outside of the marital relationship.'[1] He goes on to say that our society is highly aberrant in this and that 'from available evidence [however] it seems unlikely that a general prohibition of sex relations outside of marriage occurs in as many as five per cent of the peoples of the earth'.[2] 171

/Kung society has an over-all prohibition against any sexual relations outside of marriage with one exception. It makes no requirements such as sexual hospitality or *jus primae noctis*. It makes no provision for sexual access to certain categories of kin or affines outside of marriage, such as BrWi. Premarital unchastity, unchastity of widows, and prostitution are not among their social conventions. But */kamheri*, though not required, is either fully permitted or tolerated as not a very bad thing; I never reached certainty as to which of these attitudes the society adopted. 837 [836]

/Kamheri means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided

[1] Murdock, op. cit., p. 263. [2] Ibid., p. 264.

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

548 As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
684 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dis-
595 solvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
596 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
611 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me: !Nui-a, Dai, aben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:

eruba, time before sunrise.

!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).

sorésa, "the sun shines."

sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.

sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.

//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.

[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).

≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.

!khui-sa, to be evening.

dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.

//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

!KONG

[41 cont.]

582 girl to marry him. Naturally, these sisters ordinarily do not remember their prerogative until they have failed to get another man whom they desire. Thus the young men are often forced to marry girls who are much older than themselves. If the wife 587 dies, the widower must marry a sister of his wife in case she agrees. [42] If, on the other hand, the man dies, the widow (589) must stay with the parents-in-law for about a year. It is illegal to marry the wife or the children of a deceased brother. The widow must marry a man from another kin group and move to his village (1). The boys belong to the father's kin group, the girls to 611 The MOTHER'S KIN GROUP.

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842
589
732
627

1. "The fate of many a young childless widow is much worse, however. A Bushman communicated the following concerning this matter: 'When a man dies and leaves behind a wife without children, and the brother-in-law refuses to accept his brother's bow and thereby his sister-in-law, she may return to her father's village. But this does not by any means always happen. As a woman who did not bear children she is not highly regarded. Her life has no significance. The men of the village talk about her case and designate one from their midst to destroy the useless life. This man will come to the widow's hut in the evening and will sit down across from her at her fire. He has a bow and arrow with him. The widow knows what is in store for her, but gives no sign. The two talk about trivial matters. After a while the man takes the bow in his hand and shoots an arrow through the heart of the woman sitting across from him. The unfortunate woman dies and is buried as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible. Blood vengeance on the part of the woman's kin group is not to be feared. After all, she did not bear any children.'" (Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 419.)

NARON
!AUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the
(842) horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
843 spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
845 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong
to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu;
the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and
father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is
forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

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789
303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-
in-law or to support her.

582 *Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old, girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are 'like' parents. Cousins, they say, are 'like' siblings and nephews and nieces 'like' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking.

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung.

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms ≠*tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years.

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun/ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory.

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and ǂ*ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed.

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him.

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Ukwane's band.

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran away from her husband to take up with another man. She had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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him and back to her parents. The husband was enraged and set off after her, but when he finally found her his anger had been replaced by longing and he pleaded with her, reasoned with her parents, and plied them with the meat of an entire eland he had shot, asking for her to return. But she would not, her parents would not make her, and finally she drove him away with these words: "I don't want an old husband like you, you man with a big black belly."

Thereafter, the marriage was recognized by everyone as dissolved. The husband was sadly disappointed, but the two women, at least, were pleased.

Both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen permit divorce, condemn adultery. We saw very little marital strife among the Kung with whom we lived for over a year, and none among the Gikwe. Even so, many Bushmen over thirty years old in both groups had previously been widowed or divorced. Death and strife take too many people; a Bushman cannot really expect his first marriage to last him all his life.

Ukwane's second wife had been a widow, the mother of Twikwe, and when that woman had died Twikwe had lived on with Ukwane. His third wife was Kutera, and their only living child was Gaiamakwe. Ukwane had another son still living at Chukudu, the Bakalahari settlement, who was surely one of the Bushmen servants in that long procession of Bakalahari villagers we had seen moving to winter quarters. We told Ukwane about this migration and Ukwane said he was sorry to hear it because he had hoped very much to see his son again before he died and many seasons might pass now before the son would come.

Kutera herself had been married twice before, once to a Bakalahari, once to a Bushman named Gainaho, and last to Ukwane, to whom she had been married about fifteen years.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

thought that he would have to wait at least four years more for her, he would get into such a passion of desire that he would have to send his wife away for a time, lest he forget himself and break one of the most stringent rules. Bushmen believe that it harms a girl terribly to be possessed before she is mature. It might even drive her mad.

Bushmen have no real solution for this problem, as there are no prostitutes and only in a few bands are there promiscuous women. Homosexuality is not permitted either; the young men just have to get used to being tempted constantly but never gratified.

Gai had raised his young wife, and when she reached puberty he had possessed her and she had borne him a son. This was the young man Gai had found at Okwa. Shortly after that his young wife had died and Gai then had married Tsetchwe, whose young fiancé had been taken away by a farmer to work on a farm. Gai and Tsetchwe had borne two children. Only one was still alive; this was Nhwakwe.

When we asked about the residence and about the parents of Gai, an argument arose. Gai lived with Ukwane because his wife wanted to live with her mother, Dasina, and Dasina lived with Ukwane because she and Ukwane were relatives, sharing a common grandparent. Gai himself, said Ukwane, was conceived by a Bushman mother and a Bushman father named Gwena, but Gwena had died while Gai was still in the womb. When that had happened, Gai's mother had gone to Chukudu to marry a Bakalahari man. She and the Bakalahari had then moved to the big rock in the Okwa Omaramba, where Gai was born. This was Ukwane's side of the story.

Gai had been listening, and when Ukwane had finished, Gai raised himself up on his elbow to say that Ukwane was quite mistaken, for the Bakalahari was his real father. An argument dragged on, the old people insisting that Ukwane was

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǂka in **ǂkasho** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǂkai** "together". **Ho** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǂkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǂkuŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

[Text continues on page 70]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

various taboos. They wait for the children to grow up, hoping that they will be like their families in these qualities. 581

The marriage takes place when the parents agree, but it must be after the boy has killed a game animal and is scarified. The age at which young people marry varies greatly. We know girls who were married for five or six years before they menstruated; others were somewhat older at marriage. 582

!Kung society rigorously, and without exception, requires that all men, in first and subsequent marriages, go to live with the parents of their brides, and give them bride service. This service is essentially hunting. "Our daughter's husband must give us meat." "We shall soon be old; we need a young man to hunt for us." These are the refrains of the people. 581 583

The duration of bride service is indefinite. The !Kung say it should be long enough for three children to be born. Since the girls are so young, it may mean that eight or ten years elapse before three children have been born. Divorce may terminate bride service. After his obligations are fulfilled, a man has the right to return to his own people with his wife and dependents or he may choose to stay with his wife's people.

The young couple is expected not to have sexual intercourse until the girl is ready. No social rule patterns the time, which is a matter of individual adjustment, but the boy must not force the girl. If she complained to her parents, they might disapprove of the boy, dissolve the marriage, and send him away. His parents would have to try to find another bride for him and he would have to wait for years again for her to grow up. 585 [586]

The !Kung are polygynous. First marriages are ordinarily arranged by their parents between children who have not been previously married. Only occasionally is a young girl betrothed for her first marriage to a man who had been married before, perhaps a young man who had lost his wife by death or divorce, or possibly, but rarely, to her sister's husband or some other man as his second wife. Usually second marriages are contracted later in life when a woman becomes available for remarriage through widowhood or divorce. In such marriages, the man and woman concerned make their own arrangements. The number of wives a man may have is determined not by social rule but by the man's ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. There is no great excess of women, and prestige and wealth do not concentrate in !Kung society to give certain categories of men, such as headmen or medicine men, more power or right than others to acquire wives. A sampling of eighty-eight marriages showed that only nine of the men had two wives. None had more than two. 595 587 595 [554]

Although the first wife is considered to have a somewhat more esteemed and dominant position, no property or other material advantage is given to her and no important social advantage accrues.

!Kung co-wives live very closely together. They share one scherm and one family fire. They care for and nurse each other's children. Even when

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

595 they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

582 621 The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the 587 levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again 582 These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to step-parents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

582 183 The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

587 Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

586 A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-[587] price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

837 !Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth. [835] But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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606 supposed to speak to his wife's mother, nor a woman to her husband's father. Of the former Miss Bleek had personal evidence, since her [114] Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. Actually it seems that sitting near or consorting together is avoided, rather than the actual addressing of the person concerned.[1] So, too, among the Auen a man avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit together with her. If he approaches a fire in order to sit there, she gets up and goes away; if he wants to speak to her, he must do so from a distance.[2] Among the Heikum, again, as we have seen, a young couple who are visiting the wife's parents will erect their hut on the opposite side of the camp, so that the husband may not be too near his parents-in-law. He neither looks at nor speaks to his wife's mother, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When she is away and he wishes to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never [601] refer to each other by name, but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law ". The son-in-law also does not associate with his father-in-law, but avoids him in the same way. Should they meet accidentally, they may exchange greetings, but no general conversation will take place, nor will they look each other in the face.[3] A similar avoidance of the parents-in-law among the Cape Bushmen is indicated in one of the texts obtained by Bleek and Lloyd, but no details are given.[4]

Dissolution of Marriage

586 The duration of married life varies. Among the Naron, says Miss Bleek, " One sees couples who have grown old together, on the other hand one hears of cases of desertion on either side. If there are no children, no one worries about it. If there are youngsters, the relations try to bring the parents to reason." Where separation does take place, the children belong to the father; an unweaned child must go with the mother, but the father can claim it later if he likes. ● [587] People who have separated are not ostracized, but both parties generally marry again.[5] No indication is given of the grounds for separation. Among the Auen divorce is rare, and only takes place

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 64; *idem*, *Naron*, 32.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156.
[3] Fourie, " Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93–4.
[4] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, " Bushman Terms of Relationship," 58.
[5] *Naron*, 34.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group; the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father, but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie, are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.
[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505.
[3] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.
[4] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.
[5] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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587 " after a certain length of time ", and, as among the Naron, there is no levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of [736] a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

[768] The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries [761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth 586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary 844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her 591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, " Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.